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by Clifford

April 13, 1945

## 99 LEADING WOMEN APPEAL TO WAVELL

# Release the Indian prisoners!

"Release these prisoners without delay so that free consultation can take place between leaders of Indian opinion in their effort to find a solution of the political deadlock." These are the concluding words of "an earnest appeal to H.M. Govern-

ment" signed by ninety-nine British women, well-known in their various avocations, and sent to Lord Wavell, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for

The remainder of the text is as follows:

THE political deadlock in India and the continued imprisonment of many of its national leaders assume an added significance in the light of developments in the Far East and the coming conference at San Francisco. At the opening session of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference recently held in London, the anomalous position of India was stressed by the leader of the Indian delegation—Sir Muhammad Zafru'la Khan.

Information has come from the All India Women's Conference that serves to show how intensely the Indian women feel about the present position and their growing apprehension for the future. At a time when plans are being made for the post-war world, we share the Indian women's concern that their trusted leaders should take their rightful place in national and international affairs.

The appeal is sponsored by Mrs. Corbett-Ashby, as chairman of the Liaison Group of Women's Societies which maintains contact with the All-India Women's Conference.
Among the signatories especially
known to Peace News readers are:
Lady Allen of Hurtwood, Honor
Balfour, Margaret Bondfield, Phyllis
Betterne Vans Brittsin Gigaly Content Bottome, Vera Brittain, Cicely Craven, Ruth Fry, Barbara Avrton Gould, Agnes Hardie, MP. Rita Hinden, Muriel Lester, Ethel Mannin, Edith Summerskill, MP, and Dame Sybil

#### INDIAN NOMINEES FOR 'FRISCO .

Indian, Burmese, Ceylonese and British speakers took part in a demonstration organized by Swarai House at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, on Apr. 5, with Dr. N. Gangulee in the chair. The meeting was held to protest against the Indian "delegates" nominated by the San Francisco Conference and to demand the release of Leville 1981.

and to demand the release of India's political prisoners.

A resolution to this effect was carried unanimously, as was an emergency resolution demanding the reprieve of the Ashti and Chimur prisoners at present under sentence of death

#### THE BEST SERVICE

THE startling collapse of German resistance in the West, the increasing revelation of the pitiful condition into which the greater part of Europe has plunged, the prospect of an early general election fought on issues which

part of Europe has plunged, the prospect of an early general election fought on issues which are rather remote from the pressing concerns of imaginative statesmanship—these things augur a period of mental confusion in which the best service we can do the republic—the res publica—is to struggle to increase mental clarity. The danger is that civilization may be engulfed by its own lack of intelligence.

David Woodward, in the Manchester Guardian, lately was moved by the spectacle of devastated Osnabruck to recall the words of Axel Oxenstierna, the great Swedish statesman, shortly before the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the Thirty Years' War: "I am taking you to Osnabruck, my son, that you may see by what fools the world is governed." A second time Osnabruck bears the same witness, after 300 years, in a new "war of religion." That gives the measure of our task. Do not be niggard of your help.

Contributions since March 30: £15 2s. 11d. Total to date: £5,892 5s. 3d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News. Ltd., and address them to the Account-ant, Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

# THE DEVASTATION OF EUROPE PEACE APPALS OBSERVERS

THE reports of the destruction being wrought in Europe, and in Germany in particular, all concur. People in this country in Germany in particular, all concur. People in this country imagine that we are merely paying Germany back in her own coin for the devastation done to England. But the difference in degree amounts to a difference in kind. Sensitive observers, Fraternization of every shade of political opinion, are utterly appalled. The Daily Telegraph is at one with the News Chronicle.

V. S. Pritchett writes in the New Statesman (Apr. 7) of "a town about the size of Reading," where the Germans had been told to surrender or the town would be destroyed. They

were too late:
"In England we have never seen a town that has been killed, completely written off and abandoned, a place as empty as Pompeii, that has the sour stench of a rubbish heap from one end to the other, and where the only sound is the drip of water from the broken

"For a long time one stands unable to move.

"For a long time one stands unable to move. Disgust furs the tongue and sours the stomach. One does not pitty the people of the town, nor does one hate them. One says, They did it to us', but one is left just staring.

"The scene has gone beyond argument. The terrible thing is that one has no feeling at all. One is faced by the boredom of destruction; one is stripped of every feeling, the humane and the inhumane, and curiosity grows feeble. This is negation. The mind and heart have got to begin at the beginning and learn all they knew once more."

#### **Brussels to Stalingrad**

GEORGE Orwell (Observer, Apr. 8) says what the people of England have not grasped is the frightful destructiveness of modern war, and the long period of impoverishment that now lies ahead of the world as a Blind reaction

that now lies ahead of the works.

"To walk through the ruined cities of Germany is to feel an actual doubt about the continuity of civilization. For one has to remember that it is not only Germany that has been blitzed. The same desolution extends, at any rate in considerable patches, all the way from Brussels to Stalingrad. And where there has been ground fighting the destruction is even more thorough than where there has been merely bombing. In the 300 miles or so between the Marne and the Rhine there is not, for instance, such a thing as a bridge or viaduct that has not been blown up."

The leading article in The Ob-

## Observer's Commentary

of the catastrophe which is overwhelming our main enemies. Over vast areas of Europe we see every element both of material civilization and political order and cohesion dis-appear before our eyes. Nothing like this has happened in the many wars

of European history.

"Clearly the consequences of such a cataclysmic event are somewhat beyond calculation. One certain thing is that great care will be needed to prevent them from provoking, merely by their shattering impact and the ubsetting of every balance of power, a new world crisis. Another certainty is that immense labour will be required in order to enable Europe to survive this catastrophe in its midst. For the economic and political crater that gaues where there was but yesterday the formidable and economic and political crater that gaoes where there was but yesterday the formidable and overweening German Reich is surrounded by an area of blast and dilapidation that com-prises practically the entire continent. No war ever left such a legacy of ruin."

(NE has the feeling that the authorities are, in reality, quite unprepared mentally for the colossal destruction this war has dealt and is daily dealing to civilization. They have reacted, blindly and automatically, to the menace of Germany; they have countered destruction with greater destruction. Now they have The leading article in The Observer helps to complete the picture.

There is (it says) something vaguely threatening in the very completeness

material power than the Nazis even commanded. They have knocked away the foundations of civilization and have no conception how to rebuild them. Now their policies are beginning to recoil upon them, because they have been conceived by minds without imagination.

TAKE for instance non-fraternization. The policy was based on the false assumption that the German people and the Nazi regime were identical. That was supposed to be proved by the fact that the Germans did not overthrow a regime which was, by the same argument, declared to be the most ruthless and scientific tyranny ever devised. The facts, now universally attested, are that the German people are friendly towards the invading Anglo-Americans, whom they regard as their liberators from the grip of the S.S. A war-corre-spondent of The Observer, convinced of their sincerity, regards it as a pro-found mistake of policy that their friendly overtures should be repelled by order from above: not merely because the opportunity of genuine friendly relations is too precious to miss, but because the average American or British soldier has no heart for these imposed severities. The only elements in the armies which execute them with a will are "those which it is undesirable to encourage in any

#### The great exodus

THEN there are the millions of non-Germans compelled to labour in Germany who are now moving along the roads westward. "This great exodus," says a News-Chronicle correspondent (Apr. 8) must be seen to be believed." He avers that SHAEF, though aware that 10 million such workpeople would have to be repatriated, seems to have taken no account whatever of the human impulse that would send them surging on to the roads.

The line of Allied policy is that the Ger-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

# Will they be cannon-fodder?

by Frank Hancock

ON Mar. 8, Gen. Hodges' First Army crossed the Rhine. The same day the House of Commons agreed to the Second Reading of the Family Allowances Bill. Another war begins to fade out—the next is heralded. Although Sir William Jowitt seems to have introduced British women to become breeding the new Bill without mentioning machines of fighting machines. war, The Times' (Mar. 9) leading article said: "It is, as all recognize, the first limited step taken by the State with the deliberate intention of encouraging parenthood"

In 1930 the I.L.P. was campaigning for Family Allowances, to mitigate, for parents of large families, the horrors of the Economic Slump. But neither Labour nor Tory parties would have anything to do with it. Why should more babies be born when there were over 2,000,000 signing on at the Labour Exchanges? Why indeed!

## Echo of the Duce

In 1938, Signor Mussolini was running a "More Babies Campaign." In ning a "More Bables Campaign." In Rome, to further that campaign, he received sixty Italian Bishops, and 2,000 priests. The papers reported that Mussolini's "own bodyguard saluted the ecclesiastics with drawn daggers lifted on high." Seven years later, Members of Parliament wave their order papers on high as the their order papers on high, as the "More Babies Campaign" is initiated in Britain. What a pathetic verdict on the failures of the last war and this! What a confession of distrust in the power of the United Nations to "impose peace!" What a realist preliminary to the San Francisco Conference! What glad news the British delegation will convey to it! delegation will convey to it!

Hannen Swaffer (in the World's Press News, Nov. 19, 1942) tells how on one occasion just before going to speak at a "Birth Control" Meeting he encountered Mr. Churchill, and

said to him, "Give me a message for a Birth Control meeting." Mr. Churchill replied: "Tell them to breed to quota ready for the next war." And now his Government introduces a scheme, which the Tories covered with ridicule in 1930, to encourage

Is "breeding ready for the next war" to be, in future, the function of Motherhood? The battlefields of two world wars have swallowed up the prime lads of the last two generations. But there seemed something hap-hazard, not about the wars, but in the provision of "man-power." That is not to be left to chance in the future. Total war planning will endeavour to contrive, by monetary temptation, the conception and birth of an adequate supply of babies. At long last, militarism nakedly and unashamedly makes its demands of bountiful provision of new lives. One recalls the words of that insatiable Marshal Foch a few years after the 1914-8 war. "Poland? In 1918 I declared that it was a myth-I have now entirely changed my I have now entirely changed my mind. It has a vitality and a strength that I admire. They have been able to drive the Germans out of their country—and they have childrenswarms of children." (Capt. Liddell Hart). Today, how many of those children have been butchered?

It is anyious that these babies will

It is curious that these babies will born into a world that could seldom have been as spiritually unfit, and physically unready to receive them, as today. There are no homes for millions of our people now. These war-predestined babies will first see the light of day in prefabricated hovels. What a life! The law that is completely against the destruction of infants before they are born, gives a bonus on the future boy and girl soldiers. The Children's Allowances should be charged to War Office Expenditure, together with Wheat and Best and other subsidies.

Perhaps parents will not fall for these allowances. Two years before the war a young father with one chikl, wrote an open letter to Sir Kingsley Wood (which the News Chronicle printed) in which he asked the Chancellor, "Do you think the assurance that gas-proof pram covers will be provided free when the terror comes is an encouragement to buy another pram?" The offer of a bonus on babies means that another war is expected within twenty years—and the bonus offer becomes at once a deterrent to parenthood—naturally. It is almost as clear a warning to young married people in Britain, as was Gen. Goering's statement to the German people in Oct., 1937: "German mothers must be glad to bear sons whose destiny is to die in battle."

## The human reaction

Now that potential mothers and fathers see the ultimate destination of their unborn families, they may refuse to have them. In April, 1938, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt went to see the news-reel of the Barcelona bomb-ings. Next day 62 newspapers of the U.S.A. reported her as saying: "Why the women in sery nation do not rise and refuse to bring children into this kind of world is beyond my understanding." Reporters asked was she really advocating a mother-hood strike. Mrs. Roosevelt flared up, "Well, isn't it perfectly stupid for women to go on having babies, just to see them killed?" (News Chronicle). And potential fathers too. The New York Daily News on Armistice Day, 1941, published a grisly cartoon of the skeleton of the American Unknown

Soldier emerging from the tomb, saying "May God damn you if you lie to my son as you lied to me."

Perhaps the Children's Allowances will defeat their own end. The trap is so obvious that a famine of babies seems more than likely. If butchers shops depended on the volition of the victims themselves to replenish the slaughter houses, they would soon be empty. Are humans less far-seeing

and intelligent?

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4 Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

## JUSTICE AND PEACE

N their effort to entice Russia into the world-security organization, USA and Britain have already gone perilously far, in the way of compromise: if it can be called compromise when one party makes all the real concessions. They have gone so ar that in the considered judgment of Holland, that small but respected nation, not a trace of any real principle of justice remains in the organization proposed. Unless the proposals are drastically revised, it cannot help being an organization for "keeping the peace" in precisely the same way as the Munich agreement was intended to keep the peace, by appeasing great Powers at the expense of little ones.

It is depressing, though perhaps salutary, to reflect that after six years in which the Left parties in this country have vociferously salved their consciences by abusing the "men of Munich," they have reached a position in which the formation of a world-organization to elevate appeasement after the Munich pattern into an approved pattern of international behaviour seems to them a major political achievement. The whirligig of time hath his revenges. And if the Left parties were asked they now regard with satisfaction the erection into a general principle of a method of peace-making which, in the particular instance, aroused their loathing, the only answer they could give would be that, in their opinion, it is right to appease Russia, and wrong to appease Germany.

That attitude, we are sure. morally corrupt and corrupting. It is a symptom of the strange moral degeneration to which the political thinking of this country has succumbed during the years of war. Political principles, in the sense in which they were held a generation ago, have disappeared from the field of consciousness. Instead of loyalty to principles, we have uncritical adulation of persons (like Mr. Churchill) or nations (like Russia). To whatever Mr. Churchill commits this country, this country is committed. Yet his sacrifice of the Poles at Yalta was far more sinister than the sacrifice of the Czechs at Munich. Whatever Russia loes is right—even to the cheating of the Poles of what sorry residue of iustice was left to them after the Yalta sacrifice. The habit of thought which applauds or condones these things now flourishes among us, and no one appears to notice that it is the chief characteristic of what we con-demn in Germany as the Nazi mentality.

This attitude of mind, for which moral principle has no reality, is fatal to world peace. A world-security organization is plainly bogus unless it is based upon some universally acknowledged principle of justice. Lacking that foundation it can be nothing more than an alphanete vitual nothing more than an elaborate ritual for christening the pre-war anarchy with the name of world order. The anarchy will be precisely the same; but men are to pretend that it is something else-precisely as they did before. And that will be the moral outcome of six years of fantastic

In truth the glittering prize of victory is now dissolving in men's hands. This time the world does not have to wait to see the League of Nations disintegrate during a period of years. The tempo of events is quicker. The new League is dissolving before it is formed, because there is no principle of justice to which the Big Three are now prepared even to do lip-service. If there were, that principle could be applied to the organization of Europe.

There are two choices: either the San Francisco conference will be real parliament of nations, in which case it cannot do other than expel Russia for trying to make it a mockery. Or it will whitewash Russia, and make itself a mockery.

# The basic task is "The Consciousness of to deepen

had to spend two days in the pleasant Lancashire town of St. runs the publishers' description on the Anne's on Sea. Walking towards, jacket, "not the story of one particu-Anne's-on-Sea. Walking towards evening along the promenade, I noticed within a small enclosure of bushes and sand dunes the high, erect statue of a man on a pedestal. I had assumed that this was a typical War Memorial of 1914-18, when something slightly old-fashioned and uncharacteristic of the architecture of the nineteen-twenties caused me to look again.

I then perceived that what I had taken for the replica of a Tommy was actually the carved statue of a bearded seaman in cork-jacket and sou'wester, his right hand resting on a lifebuoy, his left holding a coil of rope flung over his shoulder, and his eyes gazing across the distant waves towards the sunset. Moving nearer, I read the inscription at the base of the statue: "This monument was erected by public subscription in memory of William Johnson (Coxswain), and" here followed twelve other names, two called Bonney being brothers—"the erew of the St. Anne's lifeboat, who lost their lives in a gallant attempt to rescue the crew of the German barque 'Mexico', wrecked off Southport on the night of the 9th December, 1886."

## "A knight there was"

That night I went to bed early to read a little book published last year and lent me by a local friend—"A Knight There Was," by Mary England. I had not seen this small 3s. 6d. volume on any bookstall, but I have no doubt that thousands of mothers have read and wept over it, for it tells without names the story of the childhood, boyhood and military career of a talented and promising musician who was killed at El Alamein. The author's name is probably a pseudonym, for the boy's life-history is related with a skilled economy of words and in a style which constantly verges on but never quite descends into a succession of noble

"It may well seem to the reader,"

DURING a recent series of addresses in the North, I had to spend two days in the

lar boy, but that of every gallant youth who has gone forth unquestioningly to do his duty." For me the emphasis here lay on the word "unquestioningly," as well as upon that other question-begging word "duty." The only three characters in the book apart from minor figures-the Father, the Mother and the Bov-belong to that world known in current idiom as "highbrow"; Father is an actor, Mother obviously a writer either by profession or as a skilled amateur, while the Boy is training to be an orchestral conductor when the war breaks out. Yet these people, obvi-ously we'll educated, presumably acquainted with some history and with current political problems, all appear to accept the notion that supreme sacrifice should not be accompanied by any awkward questions.

#### Lack of awareness

Their attitude to war is conventional, and death for one's country is automatically assumed to be right, whatever that country's policy. No awareness is shown of the menace of nationalism, of the rights and wrongs of competition for power. Although they are presented as highly intellithey are presented as highly intelligent, not one of them asks, for instance, why it was "right" to try to save shipwrecked Germans in 1886, but equally "right" to try to drown them now. Nobody inquires whether, in effect, the "Huns" of today are essentially different from the Germans in the barque "Mexico," or, if they are different (as, if they are Nazis, they undoubtedly are), what causes have brought the change about, and who is responsible. and who is responsible.

There is even less awareness that conscientious objectors are largely composed of the men and women who

composed of the men and women who do ask and try to answer these questions. Listen, for instance, to the Boy on COs:

"I don't want to be bitter, Mummy, but when I think of fine musicians who have been killed already...how can these others reconcile it with their consciences, if they have any! Some call themselves conscientious objectors: to me it is an absolute. objectors; to me it is an absolute contradiction in terms. If you have a conscience, you can't object to fighting

for everything you care for . . . at any rate that's how I see it . . If they cash in on the War and get the job that we-who are fighting for them -should have afterwards, then there will be no justice left.

His mother says: "The others are the losers really; how will they feel when the war is over and they have done nothing?"

"They don't feel anything!" the Boy broke in passionately. "If they have no conscience now, are they suddenly going to produce a guilty one after the war? But you're right, Mummy, all the same . . . Perhaps some of them haven't had my chances. Your's and Pop's example; your encouragement and help too, in what I'm doing —you don't know what they mean to

And so on. All this, of course, belongs to a standard surface morality; a morality to which I myself subscribed a quarter of a century ago, before the deaths of my own menfolk who died for it and the care of German prisoners of war who were also dying for it, started me on that job of asking and trying to answer those fundamental questions which have concerned me ever since. For it is only by a gradual growth in the numbers of those who ask them that what Nicolas Berdyaev calls "the consciousness of mankind" can be increased.

## The agonising process

A book and a statue encountered by hance in a seaside town have served to remind me that the increase of this consciousness is the basic task of pacifism. It is also the hardest and the least immediately rewarding, for the morality of "A Knight There Was" is still the accepted morality of 99 per cent. of our population. This 99 per cent. is sure that it is right and is prepared to live and die by that certainty. To bring awareness and the agonising process of unfamiliar thinking to the high-minded victim of propagatelisies who are a surely realized. victims of power-politics who are so nobly convinced of their own complete rectitude-that is which awasts us today and tomorrow. The salvation of mankind from a third World War depends upon its fulfilment.

Please note our only address C. A. BROCK & Co. Ltd. 79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10. For all Printing & Stationery

### LETTERS

#### "True" socialism

May I say that I consider the use of Peace News to recurrently attack any Party (or Church) is unfair? Wilfred Wellock's statements are not even accurate: the Labour Party has never mistaken Insurance on a con-tributory basis for Socialism. But if every belittling word he utters were apt, it would still, in my judgment, be a serious misuse of his position as a contributor to our pacifist paper to recurrently rub in his distaste. Wilfred Wellock give his positive message with all the emphasis he wishes; but must it depend on pouring scorn on other persons' spheres of work?

As for the constant reference (not only in Peace News) to a belief in economic security as "materialistic," surely such a view suggests that the conception of God as "a good Parent" has not yet been apprehended.

ΜV father founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and until every child born receives its rightful share of the earth's material blessings, I consider social cruelty persists. This does not preclude my believing in intellectual and spiritual blessings as the child's birthright too.

As one who has lived in bug-ridden Buildings and watched, for ten years, the work of malnutrition. I make no apology for advocating economics security for all.

ROSA HOBHOUSE

St. Catherine's, Broxbourne.

## 'Frisco and the Colour Bar

The statement on the Colour Bar and Racial Discrimination in dependent territories issued by the Conference of British Missionary Societies is timely. I would like to draw attention to it (it was published in the religious press around Mar. 24) and to a larger aspect of the problem of racial discrimination which is particularly important at the moment. It has been reported (e.g. Christian Century,

Nov. 25, 1944) that the Chinese delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference carried a request for the recognition by the new world organisation of the principle of the racial aquality of peoples, but nothing has since been heard of this proposal. It will be remembered that Japan made a somewhat similar proposal in 1919 which was refused and which led in some measure to the aggressive policy in international affairs followed by later Japanese Governments, is the 1919 failure to be repeated in 1945 with disastrous consequences in India and the Far East?

It is not yet too tate for the British delegates to San Francisco to be reminded of the basic equality of men everywhere and the implications concerning coloured, backward and dependent peoples.

ERIC S. TUCKER

ERIC S. TUCKER 26 Harold Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.19:

### Petition: last days

A few months ago the National Peace Council, with the support of its affiliated organisations and over one hundred representative men and women, launched a National Petition for a Constructive Peace with the purpose of building up a strong public opinion committed to a radical reconstruction—national and international—as the necessary condition of an enduring peace.

The Petition, which has already been signed by thousands of persons in all parts of the

by thousands of persons in all parts of the British Isles, is to be completed in time for presentation to the San Francisco Conference and especially to the British dulegates to the Conference. It provides a vital opportunity, therefore, of indicating to this momentous gathering the strength of public support in Great Britain for the courageous and constructive international policies which alone can put an end to war.

May I appeal to your readers for just one further effort in the remaining day or two to

further effort in the remaining day or two to ensure the full success of the Petition? It would be helpful to have any completed forms returned at once, but new forms will be sent by return, on application, to any who have not signed, not later than Apr. 14 when the

GERALD BAILEY.

National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

#### No Easter story

I felt very disappointed when I opened my copy of Peace News this week.
Good Friday! and not a word about Christ's death on the Cross; for me, and I imagine many other Christian Pacifists, the greatest example of how Love deals with Evil.
"Penlee," Irley St., Boston, Lincs.

-T H E-

# ADELPHI

Founded in 1923 by John Middleton Murry April-June, 1945:

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GEORGE WOODCOCK
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JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY
A Walk in Spring
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## **BOOK THE DATE**

TT'S a healthy sign to have a spate of week-end Conferences dealing with the work of the PPU and how it can be undertaken more efficiently. Will you make a note of the details if you are likely to be able to attend of the following:

SPICELAND, Cullompton, Devon. on May 5 and 6. Speakers, Patrick Figgis, PPU General Secretary, and Donald Port, "The future work of Donald Port. Pacifists." Sa Pacifists." Saturday tea till Sunday afternoon 10s, inclusive. Send 3s. 6d. deposit to Will Parkin, Fallowfield, Backwell Hill, Flax Bourton, Bristol, or to Mary Cooper, 57 Hollow Lane Hill, Barton Road, Exeter.

LEEDS, Priestley Hall, on May 26 and 27. "The work to be done" and "How to do it." No stars. Programme based on Group preparation. Syllabus and full details from Will Green. 5. Oriental Street, Leeds 12.

EAST ANGLIA (probably Yarmouth). May 19 and 20. "Non-Violence and its Relevance to British Pacifism." Details, reading list, questions, from Frank Sayer, Pecks

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.I.

Farm, Wacton, Norfolk. It is hoped that both groups and isolated members will follow a short four-session

course before the week-end gathering.

JORDANS, June 16 and 17. Problems to be faced by Individuals and Society. Contributions by Individual Pacifists and by the Pacifist Movement. Speakers, Reginald Sorensen, MP, James Avery Joyce, Douglas Owen, Donald Port, Chairman: Dennis Davis, Full details from Dennis Davis, The Tollies, Chartridge Dennis Davis, Full details from Dennis Davis, The Tollies, Chartridge Lane, Chesham, Bucks.

NOTTINGHAM and East Midlands Pacifists are invited to meet Patrick Figgis, Donald Port. Frank Dawtry and others at Friends Meeting House, Friar Lane, Nottingham, at 9 p.m. on Satt., Apr. 21, for an informal discussion about the work of the Movement.

\*\*

Area financial contributions for the first quarter of 1945 were less than half of budgeted figure. From London and N.W. Areas: Nothing.

All suggestions and enquiries about organisation should be sent to Development Secretary at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

# Savage sentences on C.O.s in the Armed Forces

Savage sentences of death and 10 years' penal servitude have recently been passed on American and British COs who have resisted in the Armed Both sentences have been reduced on review and common justice

demands that they should be reviewed again.

These cases provide an instructive parallel. British people agitating for the re-opening of the case of the Army CO in Italy may take heart from the widespread public support which their American comrades have aroused in their efforts for the CO who was sentenced to death in California.

In U.S.A.: commuted

# INQUIRY

THE case of the American C.O. who was originally sentenced to death by a California Court Martial (PN, Feb. 16) has excited a great deal of interest in the USA.

The sentence was passed at Camp Roberts, Cal., on Private Henry Weber, who is 26, and a member of the Socialist Party of America. It was commuted to one of life imprisonment, then reduced to 20 years, and finally to five years by the Army Board of Review (according to the Conscientious Objector, Mar. issue).

But the case is not being allowed to rest there. The Californian branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has challenged the legality of the Court Martial. It is alleged that Weber should have been legally represented, that the defence statements are not on record, and that Weber was wrongly inducted, as he explained his position to the Draft Board. Acting on their advice, Weber says he made clear his attitude towards combatant duties to his Commanding Officer. He served an initial sentence of six months detention for refusing to drill, previous to his death sentence by a second Court Martial.

Senator Wheeler has asked for a Congressional enquiry into the case, and this is supported by the National Committee on COs.

The WRI informs us that the War

Resisters' League of America, which is co-operating in the pressure to reopen the case, is gratified by the "spontaneous and unanimous support in the public press for Weber." The WRL add that this incident "brought nation-wide attention to a situation long existent" in which about 200 men imprisoned for refusal to obey orders in the army—mostly on sentences of five years—have no parole from military prisons. In Italy: halved

## CONGRESS MAY HOLD FIVE YEARS FOR 1934 P.P.U. MAN

W. R. WILKINS, the Brighton CO. who was court-martialled in Italy (PN, Apr. 6.) was sentenced to years (reduced to five years) al servitude on three charges of ten penal desertion and one of absence without leave.

He signed the Peace Pledge on Oct. 18, 1934, only two days after Dick Sheppard's appeal for signa-tures, but had later felt doubts as to his pacifist position. He did not register as a CO, but his experiences in Italy, notably at Cassino, served to strengthen his misgivings, and, in the early months of 1944, he refused further duty overseas.

Later he was fired at with a shotgun by an Italian (who mistook him for a German) and three pellets entered a lung which was for a time Despite careful treatment in a British military hospital the doctors were unable to remove the pellets, and, on Feb. 15, Wilkins was discharged from hospital. A court-martial followed on Mar. 5, and on the 24th this sentence—easily the heaviest imposed on any British CO of this war-was promulgated.

In conjunction with a sympathetic MP, the Central Board for COs are pressing hard for Bill Wilkins to be brought back to this country and allowed to appear before the Advisory Tribunal.

### Maurice Rowntree Memorial

Negotiations for the house in Surrey which the PPU had hoped to secure for use as a Conference Centre (PN, Mar. 23) have fallen

through.

The Gen. Secretary would be grateful for any help members may be able to give in the search for alternative premises.

### Nelson's other eye!

GEORGE Nelson's column in the Sunday Pictorial (Apr. 1) reported on the recent question to his readers:

"How'd you feel if your son married a German girl?" The readers' vote of: For 52 per cent.; Against 12 per cent., elicited he following comment:

Well, I can hardly believe it. Seems to me that all the millions of women who are against the idea were so horrified that they could not bring themselves to write. Because I'm quite sure that there aren't so many British women waiting to welcome German daughters-in-law.

## Pacifist youth task

THE first young people's conference to be arranged by the PPU was held over Easter weekend at Sher-wood School, Epsom. Twenty young people between the ages of fifteen and

people between the ages of fifteen and twenty attended, several of them from other countries. Bristol, Barrow-in-Furness, Huddersfield, Norwich, Worthing and Luton were represented in addition to London.

The subject of the conference was "Pacifists as Citizens." Roy Walker lectured on "What is pacifism?", Bernard Taylor on "The individual and the State", Howard Whitten on "Democracy", and Irene Barclay on "The revolution we need."

Hoth the lectures and the subsequent discussion were of a high order. The closing words of the last lecturer indicate the general challenge presented. "We are going down the road to hell, though we need not get there. Each person must stop, and go in the direction he or she knows to be right. This requires a faith. We must believe in ourselves. We have the power to bring about the necessary revolution."

Table tennis, dramatics and walks added to the enjoyment of the weekend. The representation.

Table tennis, dramatics and walks added to the enjoyment of the weekend. The generous hospitality offered by the School was greatly appreciated. By general request it must not be the last youth conference.

P.H.F.

#### C.O. FOR "CONTROL" JOB IN GERMANY

RAYMOND Newberry, a 25-year-old Northmmton CO, has been offered a post
with the Control Commission for Germany.
According to the Sunday Express, Apr. 1,
he has not decided to accept it until the matter
of uniforms for technical members of the
Commission has been cleared up. He was
registered as a CO conditionally upon continuing his work as a pattern cutter to a shoe
firm, a profession in which he holds several
technical certificates.
The Secretary of the local branch of the
British Legion told the Sunday Express that
they felt strongly "that any man whose conscience will not permit him to defend his
country in its hour of need should definitely
be precluded from" such appointments.

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# AID FOR WAR'S VICTIMS

## **DUTCH CHILDREN NEED HOMES**

AM spending the week-end in Hull. and have just visited the Dutch children's camp at Cottingham. The appearance of the children is just as Lorna Lewis described it (PN, Apr. 6); some already appear quite fit, while others are still obviously suffering from malnutrition.

Though the disused Ministry of Labour huts look somewhat dreary externally, they are cheerful inside, with furniture and bright cloths and chintzes supplied by the Ministry Works. The country round Hull is reminiscent of Holland, and many local Dutch settlers are helping to make the children feel at home.

But the account of their needs given me by the welfare officer whom I saw does not precisely tally with that supplied by Miss Lewis. Though gifts of sweets can always be used, I was assured that the children were amply supplied with these by the local Dutch, by adjacent American camps, and by the "New Amsterdam," a Holland-Amerika liner which has "adopted" the settlement.

"adopted" the settlement.

The welfare officer, who was familiar with the work of the Food Relief Campaign, advised me tersely: "These children really have all they need as regards food. Try to get anything you can collect across to the other side." The real problem, he explained, was to find enough Catholic families in this country to offer hospitality to these children when they are fit to leave the camp, as 90 per cent, of the population of South Holland are Catholics, and their priests at home are so much opposed to billets with non-Catholic families that some of the first (Coventry) group of children, failing Catholic hospitality, have already returned to Holland.

When children can come here from Northern

When children can come here from Northern Holland the billeting will be easier, as the majority of these are Protestant. The welfare officer, a Canadian, said that offers of Catholic (or non-Catholic) hospitality and any other suggestions or inquiries should be sent to: Mr. J. W. Niemann, c.o Messrs. Walter Herriot & Co., Ltd., Lloyd's Buildings, London, E.C.3. (Tel.: MANsion House 1600).

VERA BRITTAIN

## **Hun-hating Primates**

THE English Archbishop's advice that we should hate our enemies has cut no ice among Service men, it seems. Two Chaplains in the Forces have written to the Church Times to say that such pronouncements only add to cynicism concerning organized religion.

An Army Chaplain says the immediate reaction of the average soldier is to say the Archbishops are paid agents of the Ministry of In-

paid agents of the Ministry of Information.

Soldiers may not be religious, but they are familiar enough with Christianity to know it cannot be reconciled with a doctrine of hate.

An ex-Naval Chaplain writes:

". . it ill befits men who, by virtue of their sacred calling, are exempt from the necessity of driving bayonets through enemy bodies or dropping bombs on women and children, to be so warlike."

The two Chaplains are agreed that "ecclesiastical bellicosity" only serves to lower the prestige of the Church.

#### LONDON AREA A.G.M.

THE view that the only hope for the future lay in returning to Parliament candidates from the left of the Labour Party, the ILP and Common Wealth, was expressed by Dr. C. A. Smith, speaking at the annual general meeting of the London Area PPU on Sunday.
Dr. Smith pointed out the absurdity

of the Yalta Conference agreements and stressed the need for a federal solution of Europe's problems, based on a socialist economy.

During the business part of the meeting, which was attended by about group representatives and individual members, the result of the election for officers and executive committee was announced as follows: Chairman, Sybil Morrison; vice-chairman, John Wheeler; secretary, Nellie Harby; treasurer, Len Moncrieff; area representative, Geoffrey Pittock-Buss; executive committee, Molly Barlex, Jack Battey, Robert King, Ronald Smith, Bernard Taylor, and Rex Whittaker.

Whittaker.

A vote of thanks was passed to Robert King, who has been chairman of the area for the past three years.

#### **BOX** 886

Will the advertiser in our issue of Mar. 30, using box number 886, please write immediately to the Peace News

# Ministry still says "No" to food gifts

THE Ministry of Food, which had been reviewing its ban on the sending of foodstuffs to liberated

territories has made no concession. In a letter to the Public Action Secretary, PPU, on Mar. 29 the

Ministry state:

"We are not prepared at the moment to relax the prohibition against the export of foodstuffs by private individuals and private organisations. I am afraid there is nothing further that can be reid on nothing further that can be said on this point at present."

This blunt refusal comes as a particular disappointment the day after various MPs had pressed a contrary view in the Commons debate.

Earl Winterton pleaded that we should be permitted "to give up food coupons if those coupons can be used to send food to France," and complained of the Minister's "very rigid attitude" on this. T. Edmund Harvey spoke of "a great number" who were "tready to go a great number." "ready to go on even with decreased rations," and quoted the recent declaration of the British Council of Churches.

The immediate effect of the ministry's policy is clear enough. A good deal of food which had been collected in readiness for transportation is now "frozen" indefinitely. The President of "Help to French Schools" explained in the Manchester Guardian on Mar. 29 that "it is not possible for us to accept food of any kind for transport to France."

The matter must not be allowed to rest at this completely unsatisfactory

Pacifism and Conscientious Objection,

R EASONED statements of the case

modern pacifism have already been made by K. S. Shelvankar, Kenneth Ingram and Dr. John Lewis. Although Professor Field is a philo-

sopher and has dipped into one or two standard works, notably Cadoux, he

does not add much to the critical

arguments adduced by these other writers. What makes his book the most interesting of these attempts is

the fact that it rests mainly on the

statements of several thousand conscientious objectors who appeared before the Tribunal of which he was for four years a member. We have not only a good chance to study what an intelligent critic makes of our case,

but a unique opportunity of seeing

Extremists

Professor Field is certainly not

unfair. He is sparing with examples of our more remarkable convictions, such as that of a small religious body

that "they must not join the fire ser-

vice because they might be required to put out fires in churches or chapels

of other denominations" or the drastic resolution of an anti-compulsionist

that "if he had a car he would regard

it as wrong to drive on the side of the road prescribed by the law." He does

not think that conscience makes cowards of us all—"I do not myself believe that personal fear plays much

part in the decision of more than a

very small minority."

He respects and often likes, though

he disagrees with, the pacifist who

Love of one's neighbour is one of the chief Christian virtues; and in-

cludes love of one's enemies. Remem-

ber this today when all over the world

so many voices are asking you to hate your enemies. You must fight to transform the red flame of hatred into

the white flame of love for your

-Archbishop of Cologne, Pastoral

(Broadcast by Vatican Radio,

Words of Peace - 120

May, 1943.)

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# The aftermath of Yalta

#### 'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

mans having brought them into the country have the duty to feed them.'

The word slavery has been freely bandied about in the propaganda of this war. But these unfortunates really have been enslaved by the Nazis. Liberation for them means that they are to remain in captivity under far worse conditions than they

were before they were liberated.
"Worse almost than the physical distress, it seems to me, is the moral suffering.
"Wild rumours have this week run through the camps and the marching columns, such as that their Governments are attempting to discourage their early return to their countries, fearing aggravation of unemployment and hunger.

nunger.
"It would be a terribly dangerous thing if such an idea grew into a belief that the price of slavery is to be unwanted, to be cast off from their kind."

#### Russian serenity

RUSSIA has what may almost be called first-hand experience of chaos. The Russian revolution itself grew out of it. But not even the Russian chaos of 1917 is really comparable. Russia was still a primitive agricultural country. The Europe that has suffered devastation was an advanced industrial country.

But it is almost certainly true that revolutionary Russia contemplates the European chaos with much more equanimity than England can. From chaos arises not liberty but authoritarianism. It seems pretty obvious that, for reasons of their own, the German leadership is straining every nerve to hold up the Eastern front at the cost of the Anglo-Americans overrunning the rest of the country. This policy imposes upon us extraordinary responsibilities, and calls for supreme statesmanship. Russia has insisted on having her own way in the territories she has overrun. It would be abbreved folly if USA and British did abysmal folly if USA and Britain did not insist on having their own way in the West. And the sooner they dis-

refuses military service but is willing to accept alternative work which serves

men as men, whether soldiers or civilians. He dismisses the claim

based on positive sense of duty or

vocation in much too casual a fashion,

but not without sympathy. The full

strength of his displeasure is re-served for the type of uncon-ditionalist who refuses to contribute

anything to the needs of the community, an attitude which "no more calls for toleration in the name of

liberty than would attempts at

sabotage by a conscientious Fascist.'

privation of legal privileges, and does not go

Is there any common ground?

We cannot here discuss Professor Field's arguments against pacifism as a policy and as an individual duty, although they certainly deserve discussion. But even a brief notice cannot pass over this:

"Can there be any intellectual co-operation between the pacifist and the non-pacifist? Can they take counsel together and arrive at conclusions to which both sides have contributed something? I am afraid that, even with the best type of pacifist, the answer to this question must be No. Pacifism in all

this question must be, No. Pacifism, in all its forms, is an all-or-nothing doctrine, which must be accepted entirely or not at

Where the question is whether or not to use collective violence this is true. But resort to violence to solve disputes is not the whole philosophy of the war-supporter, and no more is renunciation of violence the whole faith of the war-renouncer. Despite Dumbarton Oaks and Unconditional Surrender there are fortunately for us all, many problems of international conciliation on which men of goodwill can unit

cover what their own way really is, the better.

#### Slump in optimism

THE slump in the optimism con-cerning the San Francisco con-ference has been startling. The cause is Russia. First, the appointment of the colourless M. Gromyko as Russian representative is interpreted as showing how little importance Russia attaches to its proceedings; second, suspicion is acute that Russia is double-crossing Britain and USA about Poland. The Times (Apr. 9) says:

"The view is strongly held in London that The view is strongly held in London that an early official statement clearing up the mystery of the reported Russian unilateral approach to leaders of what may be called the anti-Lublin Poles is desirable. The fact is that the British Government are completely in the dark about the negotiations."

Robert Waithman reports from America (News Chronicle, Apr. 5) that the American people will not allow the Yalta agreement to turn out to be a face-saving device leading by decorous steps to the recognition of the Lublin Government.

"That will not satisfy the Americans, and there is absolutely no way of making it satisfy them."

In short, what has happened since Yalta has enormously increased the obstacles in the way of any genuine understanding between Russia, and Britain and the USA

#### A chance for the others

THIS increasing mistrust of Russia will not be allayed by her denunciation of her neutrality pact with Japan. The Americans who now feel that they can beat Japan under their own steam are not so grateful for it as they would have been a year

In proportion as hopes were raised after Yalta, they have sunk at the realization that in spite of all the much advertised agreements Russian policy is quite unchanged. Nevertheless, I sincerely hope that the San Francisco conference will not be postponed. Not because I expect of it the formation of an effective world security organization, but because it will give some of the smaller nations the opportunity to speak their minds. Even as at present constituted the Conference will be something like a world-parliament-at any rate utterly different from the sinister conferences of the Big Three.

Forty American soldiers in one sector on the Rhine were arrested and fined for visiting German homes, reported an AP message published in Stars and Stripes, Mar. 21. One man was fined \$120 and sentenced to three months' hard labour.

#### JUST IN CASE

Mayor Roger D. Lapham of San Francisco said on Mar. 20 that he had accepted an offer of a bullet-proof limousine from Chrysler Corporation for the use of delegates to the forthcoming world security conference.

# The C.O.s Hansard

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Fined for fraternizing

A concluding chapter discusses the problem of the pacifist in relation to society, and rightly stresses that this is not only an emergency problem but a permanent problem. Where pacifists will do alternative work Professor Field would prefer Civilian Service Camps on the American model to the present system of direction, and he supports the contention that rates of pay should be equivalent to army standards. He is reluctant to imprison even the recalcitrant pacifist, and opposes the theory that ration books should be withheld from absolutists or that they should be outlawed. "In earlier periods of history banishment would have been an appropriate treatment." Failing that, he suggests limited deprivation of legal privileges, and does not go into details.

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